1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The country houses of the Kûrds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *bâsa*, a liquor called *narâsak*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

At Suleimanieh, the Kûrdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *haremlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tekardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his 'Anabasis', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kurdes kept their wine in cemented cisterns, bk. iv. chap. ii.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kûrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kûrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year 231
approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that 241
planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-
summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect
to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques [251]
known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is 256
ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their con-
struction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need
not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi,
from Arabic, hashira) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi
Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlokan,
and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to [465]
pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon
tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may
pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small
sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" 361
agricultural village for the area, because there is a great
deal of variation in size, and some differences in the
emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small
village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir
will provide some general idea. This consists of about
thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey
with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along 342

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

342

a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community [162] was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354] indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings [312] meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 366 village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a [346] definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417 of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231 smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342 animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361 The "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowanduz district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. 342 The kotchir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

The employment of masons and builders is not solely confined to the town of Rowanduz, for specialists of this type are often called out to neighboring villages to supervise the constructions of wealthier people. The "mason" is not only expected to exercise his own craft, but must also fill the posts of architect, contractor, and general foreman. Having obtained the land, those who desire to build hold a consultation with the mason, reaching a verbal contract in which the materials, the amount of time necessary for completion, and the price are stipulated. The mason must then purchase the materials, arrange for their transportation, hire, insofar as it is necessary, the requisite labor, supervise the construction, and do the most difficult tasks, for example, the actual laying of bricks, himself. Builders of this type do not belong to guild or union, but seem to maintain themselves within the strength of their families. A building operation is apt to involve a number of sons, brothers, and nephews, with the mason as a sort of congenial taskmaster and guiding spirit, who alternately pleads and jests with his workers. The operation can suffer from general lassitude, and the owner must at last have words with the builders. Most houses appear to reach completion by means of a series of such arguments. Constructing a larger house in Rowanduz is a relatively expensive undertaking. Two houses and their land, located in the higher-priced lower portion of town, cost the mukhtar, Ra'uf Effendi, about 1500 dinars. The lots accounted for half the price, and the average cost of

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each house was thus in the neighborhood of 375 dinars (almost a thousand American dollars). With such capital as this involved, building is a serious business and litigations between owner and mason appear frequently before the judge. Poorer townspeople with a flair for the work sometimes build their own simple homes, but anything larger requires the specialist. In such smaller constructions Rowanduz seems to have little "communalism," for, while the neighbors may lend a hand, there is no tradition which requires the aid of others.

Some of the important details of house construction will be found in the succeeding section. There is one person in the town who devotes himself to the manufacture of mud-bricks and the supply of large pieces of uncut stone, these last used for threshholds, courtyards, steps, and the like. The moistened soil for bricks is mixed with chaff and moulded with a wooden form. The shaped bricks are laid out in rows in the sun to dry, and, when hardened, are ready for construction. No fire-burnt bricks are manufactured in the town. There is no special place for brick-making, and in 1951 an empty lot near the house of Isma'il Beg was used for this purpose. Similarly, there is no particular stone-quarry for the district, and any convenient outcrop may be used. The people of the district are not skilled in stoneworking, and most pieces, usually of limestone, are only crudely roughed into flat, irregular slabs. Mud-brick, because it is more easily

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land. 271 312 365

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a 361 342 [354] [252] 352 513

cradle (a more or less perennial necessity for this class), 352 513
and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations 362
of this type[1] are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid
of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because
the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so
often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to pay more detailed atten- 342
tion to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and land- 351
owners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic
life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of
rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an
interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to
the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked
on three sides by the building with the fourth left open,
and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or
Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of
the house and high brick walls on all sides. These court-
yards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with
hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, [312]
either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it,
watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of 342
such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a
layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same
material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a
white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are
usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the out-
side windows of the first storey consist only of small,
unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Because of

[1] [i.e., houses of the poorer townspeople, -Analyst]

the summer heat, these rooms have a height which seems abnormal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist of bundles of poles and twigs, and are mostly left unfinished, although a few have been plastered and pasted with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a little of the floor. The roofs are equipped with long, smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of these homes are of two storeys, and, although there is considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient the house and its windows so that household life, specifically that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a "true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the deficiencies are amended with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological

342 [356] [413] [351] [174]

information, it would be difficult to assign such a house plan to any definite cultural horizon, but the architectural attempt to conceal the woman is clearly Islamic, and, while it had its initial expansion under the Arabic caliphates, probably had its greatest influence in Kurdistan under the Turks when such things were carried to an extreme, at the same time reinforced by the prestige of a ruling class, in most parts of the Ottoman Empire. 342 [174] [562] [177]

The entrance of the house requires special attention, for certain important customs surround it. The doors are of heavy timbers, swinging on iron hinges, and, lacking a metal lock, are bolted at night with a heavy wooden bar which is kept in place by a second piece above it on a pivot. The outer doorway may have a fuel lamp for night and in many cases is furnished with charms designed to ward off the evil eye, a belief which will be discussed in a later section. These are characteristically a blue porcelain plate, embedded in the mud wall-surfacing, or a pair of old shoes hung on a nail. The popular reasoning behind the second device is that it indicates to a person with the eye that "your malevolent glance is as powerful as our pair of old shoes," an explanation that probably has little to do with the origin of the custom. [373] [754] [777] [751]

Whenever the construction of a house is completed, the new owner sacrifices an animal, a sheep or a goat, by cutting its throat before the door and smears some of the blood on the doorposts and the threshhold. Often he dips his hand in the blood, and applies it to the door, making by 342 782 [751] [777]

its imprint the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly ex post facto, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshhold and the maiden's sandal is dipped in its blood. It is an incredible breach of etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until ushered in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow ditches beside the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

but found just as strongly in the illiterate Sa'idi peasant 351
of contemporary Egypt as in a Medieval Persian poet. In
Rowanduz all of the wealthier homes have their gardens,
surrounded by high fences, with a number of trees, willows
and those bearing fruit, for shade, and, if there are
servants to cultivate them, some plots of vegetables off [244]
to one side. In summer it is customary to set out a number
of wooden benches and chairs, and guests can be enter- [352] [574]
tained with the addition of freshly-picked fruits to the
usual beverages. By popular admission, the most spectacular
garden near Rowanduz is that of Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Agha of
Jindian, whose house is built over the course of an icy
mountain spring. This stream flows in a masonry channel
through the plot itself. The agha boasts fruits chilled
in the water and the pleasant sound of the swiftly running
brook together with the usual shade trees, carpets, and
benches. Gardens are seasonally used to a much greater
extent by the family as a whole than the guest-room, and [857]
children of the house, in addition to playing there, are
held responsible for keeping birds and stray goats from
the ripening fruits and vegetables. It follows that the
youngsters, as might be expected, make much greater in-
roads on the produce than those they are set to guard
against.

Aside from a few rooms devoted to storage, as of 354
firewood, it remains to take account of the kitchen, al- 342
ways to be found on the first floor and more or less open
to the courtyard, inasmuch as chimneys are unknown or

unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

to the great cities, and even in these places she feels far from secure. While this concept is common to families of any class of society, it reaches its apogee among those of the aristocracy. If the daughter of a commoner runs away, he may be unable or unwilling to do anything about it, but a chieftain, as the personification of his people's honor, is more or less bound to exact justice. Thus insulting the integrity of a noblewoman can also result in violence. 684 562 628 683 622

Finally, hospitality is a necessary concomitant of a chieftain's honor, and an ideal of all. "To be a chieftain," it was said, "a man must belong to a noble house, must be followed by armed men, and must have a guest-room." Hence the aristocratic houses maintain diwankhanas which very considerably in size and form according to their estates. In some cases it is only a few rooms within the house and in others a separate building. Some chieftains have large tents pitched as guest-rooms in the summer. In furnishings and service the aristocratic guest-room does not differ from that described in the preceding section, and the distinction between it and the diwankhana of, say, a wealthy merchant, is that it must always be open to strangers, no matter what their station in life. Strictly speaking, the rule of hospitality applies to any Kurdish house, but, outside of emergencies, its usual application is among the aristocrats. One of the functional aspects of the support of the chieftainship appears here. A poor villager cannot entertain a stranger in sumptuous fashion, 574 622 [342] [343]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

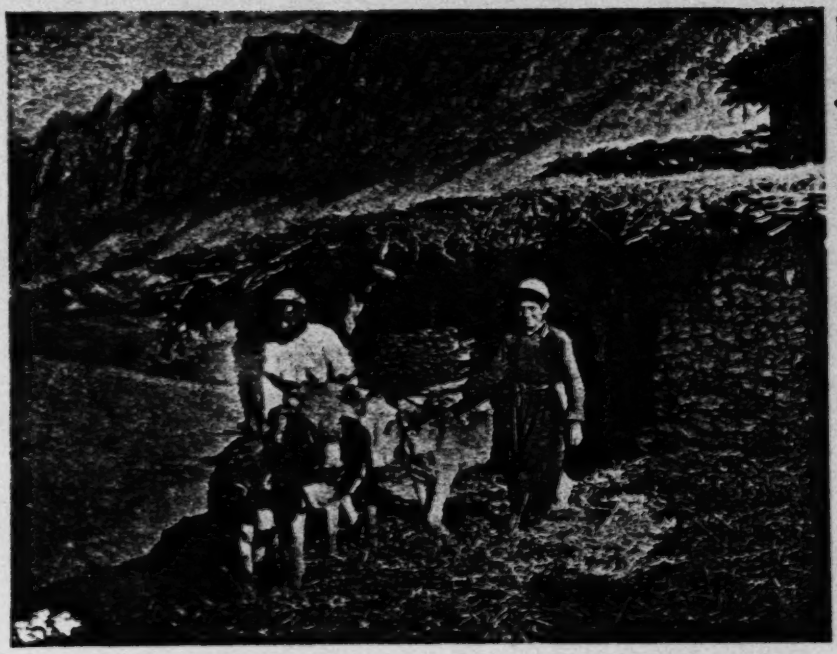

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flatly-heaped corn. Topzawa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *Janjarr*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[43], threshing car[44] or threshing
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 243
of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are 407
studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh, two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades whose edges are at right angles to each other[45]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into chaff.

According to Hay[46] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

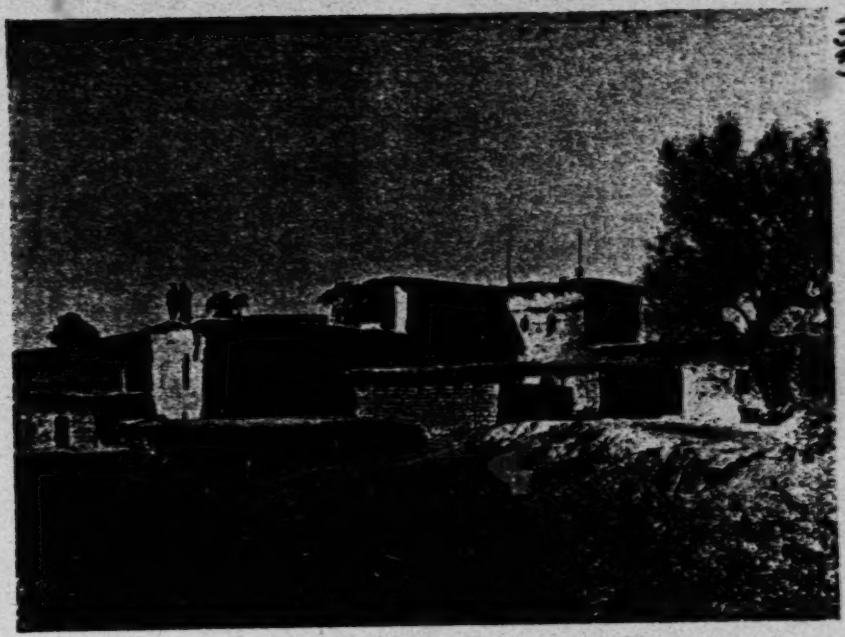

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Topzawa.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and none could sell, move away or move in without his sanction[68]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters.

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[69]. On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[70] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[71] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply these.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connexion with a "comprehensive program" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle and register proprietory rights"[72]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *reŝmâl*[1], the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Feilberg[2] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the leaf hut, *kêpê*[3], only erected for a single summer's residence, and the permanent house, *xânê* or *mal*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Toprawa and Rakawa at the beginning of June when the summer, *âwîn*, really begins. They are erected on [361] the sheikh's harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones sunk around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin osiers reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in-between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[4], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families [467] whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house.

It is said that in the trading centre of Tawâla, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. Hay mentions that "in Shaqlawa booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[5], but does not further describe them. 366 361 345

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, *kêw*, the walls of the houses are built 342 324

[Text continues on p. 23 -- analyst]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 14. Construction of a leaf hut.

Fig. 15. Building of a leaf hut with walls of mats. Tepuzvu.

Fig. 11. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tavalla.

of this, with a kind of timber frame consisting of short, sleeper-like, wooden beams placed horizontally in the stone walls though not joined together. The stones in the wall have either no binding agent or clay is used as mortar. In the newest houses cement has been adopted. The interior walls in some of the rooms are covered by a clay or gypsum layer applied by the women, which is afterwards polished with flat stones. It appears like a thick white oil paint. In villages and in the older houses in Sulaimani, on the other hand, the walls are made of mud bricks, still. The newer houses in Sulaimani are built of burnt brick. In the villages the bricks are first formed from the clay available on the building site, mixed with water and thoroughly kneaded by the feet of men. Water for the kneading process is obtained by diverting an irrigation channel to the building site, or fetched in goatskins which are hung in pairs on the back of a donkey. Pebbles for the foundation, and for the rear wall if the house is built out of the side of a hill, are also transported by donkeys, being carried in basket-shaped frames. The kneaded mass of clay is formed into the individual brick in a rectangular wooden frame, in the same way as we form new peat. The brick is put out on the hillside to dry for some days without much attention being paid as to whether the surface is really flat. After the foundation of the wall has been

Fig. 17. Housebuilding. Clay and water are kneaded with the feet. Pointing the foundation are transported by donkey. Togoland.

made of pebbles laid in a trench, a wall is put up composed of clay bricks, 1½ bricks thick. This is done with the help of an outstretched horizontal cord, but no spirit level or such like is used to ensure that the wall is plumb, and the ground is not levelled. A mixture of clay and water is used as mortar. Whereas the men knead the clay and transport to the building site the water, women and heavy pupils provide for the roofs, the women assist in the transportation of the dried clay bricks and the stacking of them. The window apertures can be rectangular and, like the door opening, bounded above by horizontal wooden sticks. Arched window openings, on the other hand, are formed by loosely and unsystematically stacking bricks in a vertical rectangular opening in the wall. These bricks are covered on top by a mat or such like on which bricks are placed in a semicircle. When the clay mortar holding the bricks together dries, the irregularly-stacked clay bricks and the mat are removed, whereby a window aperture, bounded above by a semicircle, results. Arched window openings can be unscreened or covered by a lattice of flat wooden shavings, which allows in the light, but no stranger's gaze. This lattice is flush with the outside of the wall. The arched windows can also be fitted with wooden shutters which, when locked, are flush with the inside of the wall. Window frames

with glass panes can be inserted in rectangular window apertures. Such windows are from a conservative point of view of unnecessary price extravagance. Only rare masonry provisions of even such. 342

In the same way that the arched window apertures are made, openings half the thickness of the wall are allowed for inside the rooms as niches for storage purposes, the only places where anything can be put in this culture so deficient in furniture. Besides, the niches are the only places in the room [352] not affected if rain penetrates the clay roof. In Halaf-ja a niche of this kind, covered by double glass doors, appeared to be a prototype of a wall cupboard. In Sargala was seen a completely shaped niche wall with eight niches of various sizes, an Iranian architectural element that is met with as far east as Uzbekistan. The inside walls are plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The floors are of hard-packed clay, but not levelled. In a few houses, for example in the sheikh's house at Tepsawa, a concrete floor could be seen, a thin, inadequate layer of cement having been laid on top of the hard-packed earth. The rafters are the only valuable items in the building itself and are all that one takes if desirous of building a new house. They consist of heavy, barked trunks of the poplar tree, which are laid in

Fig. 18. Mud bricks laid out for drying on the hillside. Tepsawa.

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341 pairs, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about ½ metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in less well-to-do homes this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[8]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[9] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, *Idem*. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. At many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sargalu, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden nails[10]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 19. Wall of mud bricks. Tepsawa.

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Fig. 20. Leggis with columns made of slim, barked poplar trunks with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. Topzawa.

and the window frames sometimes come apart from the clay walls as the latter smoulder so much that large gaps appear. During dust storms doors and windows become more and more loose. 342

Two phenomena are typical of the Kurdish village houses of a certain size. The one is the central living room, sometimes placed on the first floor, the floor beneath being used as a stable. This central room, *keywân*[13], looks like a huge niche in the body of the house for it lacks the fourth wall, thus becoming a cool, shady apartment during the hot part of the year[12]. The second phenomenon are the columns, often with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. The pillars are formed of slim, barked poplar trunks[13]. The three-walled room is possibly a Kurdish version of an Islamic architectural element, whereas the pillars can trace their ancestry back to Iranian-Achaemenedian architecture which is known as far east as Uzbekistan[14]. Cellars are unknown. The underground living room, *serdâb*[15], typical of Arab urban architecture, is not found in Kurdish buildings. [197]

The houses in the villages are built on hill slopes so that they often have two storeys to the front and only one at the back. As previously mentioned, they are usually built together and provide accomodation for several families. The way up to the flat roofs is nearly always by narrow ladders[16] made of thin poplar trunks with rungs of rounded sticks or pieces of a tree trunk. Inside stairs from the ground to the first floor are very rare in villages; where they do occur they are made of clay with

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a twig forming the anterior edge of each step. These steps are remarkably high and uneven[17]. Some of the houses in Sulaimani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of unfired clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. When the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The two-storeyed houses had a staircase which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a house made of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargalo, incidentally its most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of woman's life within the four different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential frame surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Ta'fūr's property in the village of Topzawa will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Balkha. The two urban environments, the "educated" and "uneducated" were found within the walls of a single home, that of my interpreter's family at Sulaimani. The picture of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, inhabited by women representing both states.

Sheikh Taifūr's house at Topzawa is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, wife, 40, three sons, 18, 15 and 6, two daughters, 17 and 8, a daughter, 12, of another wife now returned to her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 35, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 25 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a tenant of a room that had no entrance into the house was a poor widow with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 13—15 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Taifūr's house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay close to a slightly sloping, unlevelled piece of ground on the outskirts of the village, a little above it. A watercourse, which even in the hottest summer never ran dry, passed alongside the back wall of the property, and water from it was diverted through the wall into a cemented basin, about 2×1×0.75 metres, lying in a small garden, with an outflow under the wall.

The property was divided into three contiguous units: the family house, the farm and the guest wing. The family house was orientated like an urban house with cook and bake houses around a court. Four high, irregular steps led from the court to the dwelling house, which, on account of the

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taifûr's property. Topzawa.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[18]. A guest wing is typical of the finest houses in Kurdish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village to the squire. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Burton, Edmonds and Leach[19]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rakawa. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family house some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a loggia. The roof to this was supported by five columns of barked, but variegated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hacked wooden blocks inserted as

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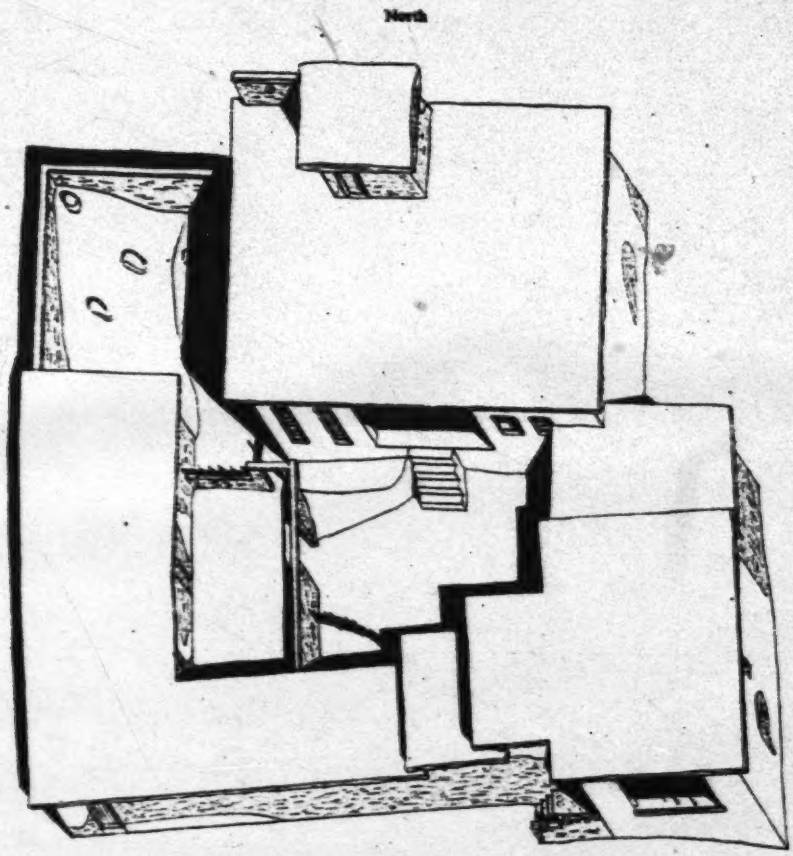

Fig. 22. Bird's-eye view of Shaikh Talib's property. Topsawa.

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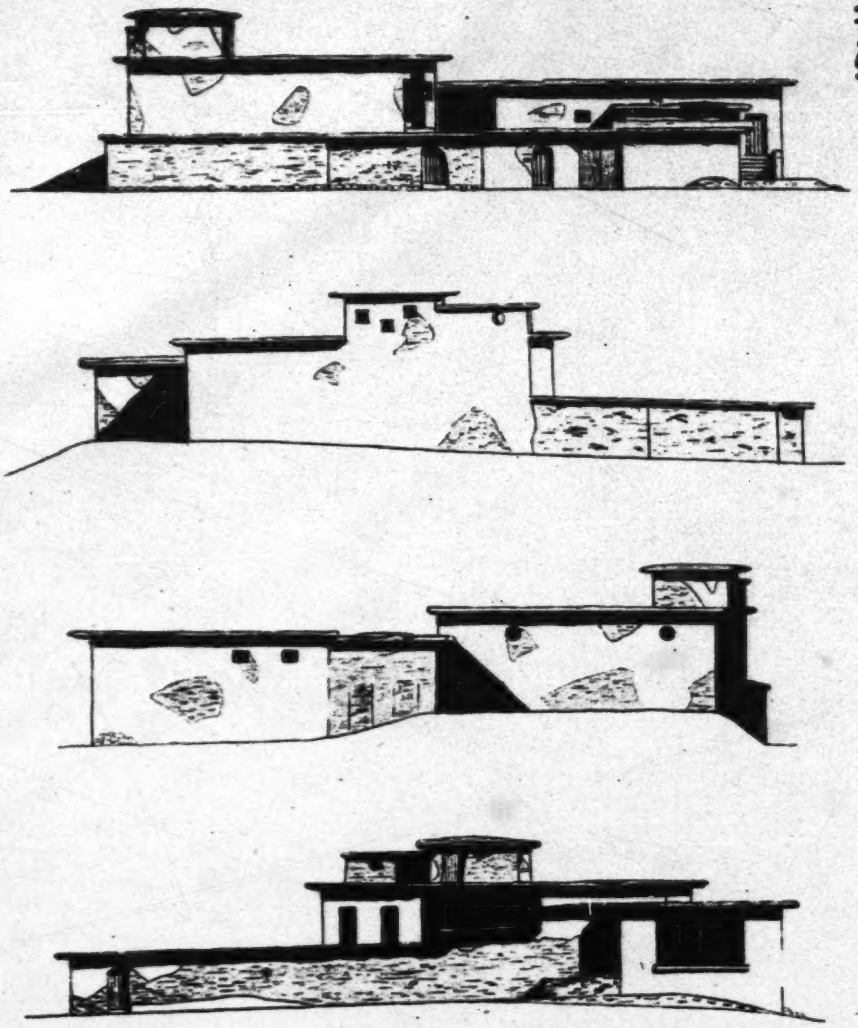

Fig. 23. Elevations of Sheikh Taffir's property, Topzawa. From above: west, north, east, and south side.

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, [364] built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, *adaptana*, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin 312 lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the [364] basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their [415] families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to [252] pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for [412] rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. 343 Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless [412] store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading 342 up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the niche-like, three-walled *hayvan*. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two [515] steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

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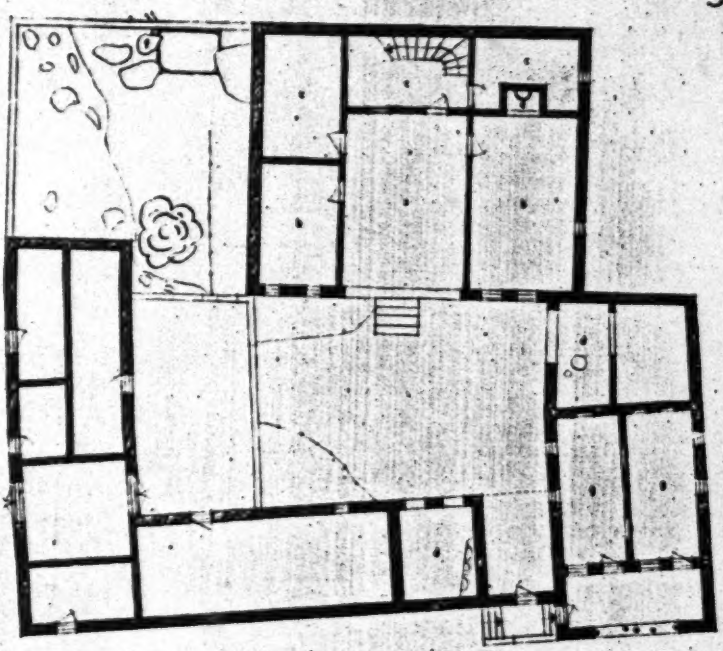

Fig. 24. Ground-plan of Sheikh Taffa's property. Topzawa. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hayvate*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store rooms; d: cooking and baking rooms; e: bath room, *hammam*; f: latrine; g: guest rooms in the guest wing.

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342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the *hammâm*, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *heyvân* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an [251] iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that rotated on a pivot stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accomodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which [252] was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [252] oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[20] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[21] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taifûr's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

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Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topzawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *lihdād*[22], and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārš*, (E. 2257)[23] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *majma'a* or *sinī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *heywān* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood ceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bāw'ēžn*, 0,323 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

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The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

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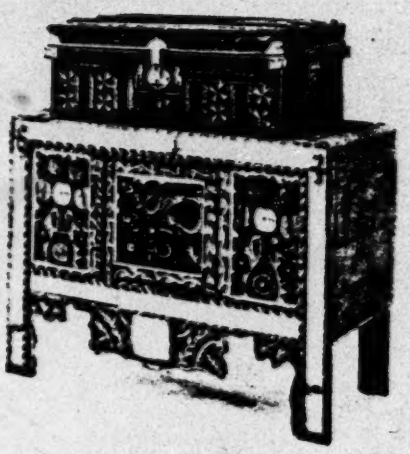

Fig. 27. Tin chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burāq*. Topzāwa.

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decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kᵊlīla*, to the padlock to each of them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin. These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *sᵊnūq* (E. 2278). Made in the *sūq* of Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[24].

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The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There, for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilisation of the store room must also be viewed with this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

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in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalised in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[35], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[36], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the crude light from the lamp. In this clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only based on the

wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the frame round the life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short, horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and just as dignified on the floor as in the chair"[27]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, *saj* or *tawa*, on which the bread sheets, *nan*, was baked were placed on the fire. The sunken jar-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour - from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 55 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

341 342 361 369 [312] [364]

off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though no connexion with the family section of the house[29]. Along the wall lining the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a sunken, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it; in addition a water container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small disrobing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaimani's good and well-cleaned municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *hewdi*—between, that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the newer part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was squeezed

[312] [351]

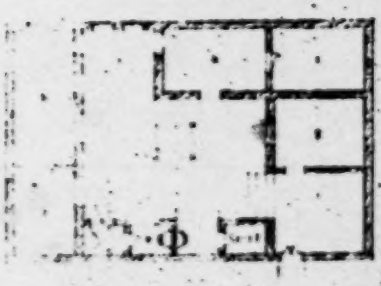


Fig. 30. Ground-plan of family house. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hewdi*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store room; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, *hammam*; f: latrine; g: guest room. (CT. fig. 24).

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent mosque, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

369 512 representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside it—the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

Fig. 31. (Cf. figs. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, hayyate; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and bathing facilities in courtyard; e: (thereunder) + f: latrine; g: guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

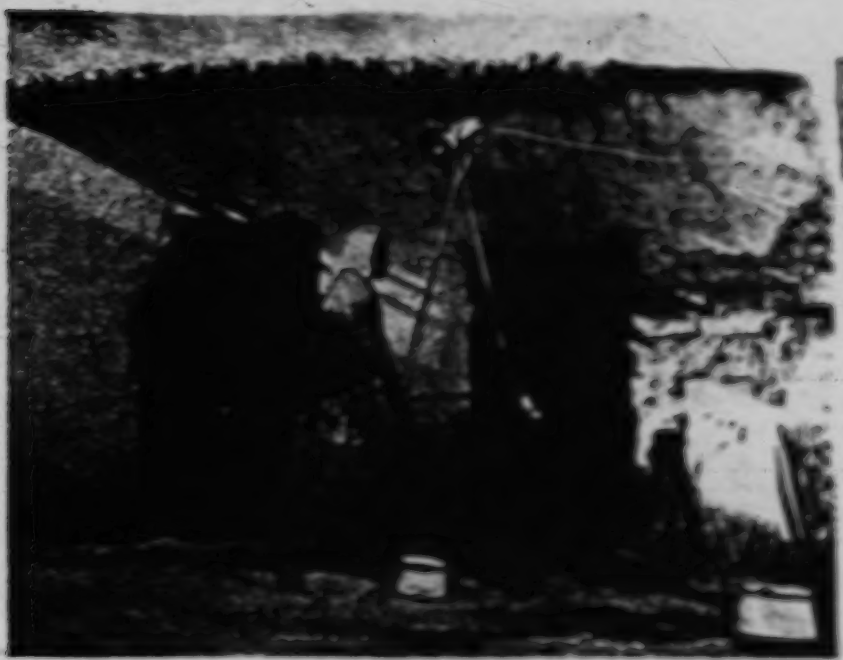
Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hewīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, *bez*, water, *āw*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *zīle-dān*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by 'hnu'xāp-ā-n'ūa.' wou-spoon, (i.-'260) / down. '2.5 cm.' long, 'hnu' nardin-ā-winā-ēdā' ru'a' loop.' The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumēk*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Toyserwa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Toyserwa.

the wall of the residence or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard; it could also be hung up on a tripod, rapid, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman, who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and cold water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[49] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, stirred with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *neggar*[50].

Fig. 36. Woman churning. The leather sack, made of a whole sheep skin, is suspended from a pole in the roof wall, Tegonna.



[illegible] cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rite is a completely passive one. The movements most evocative of an unequal measure of grasses of cloth. Neither knife nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the house to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the ceremony. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother) only, accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a lamb were practised in the southernmost valley tribes. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as in the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connection with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

Fig. 91. Burial place with big cross outside the village, Tsqaroro.

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[illegible] in a [illegible] village (three households).

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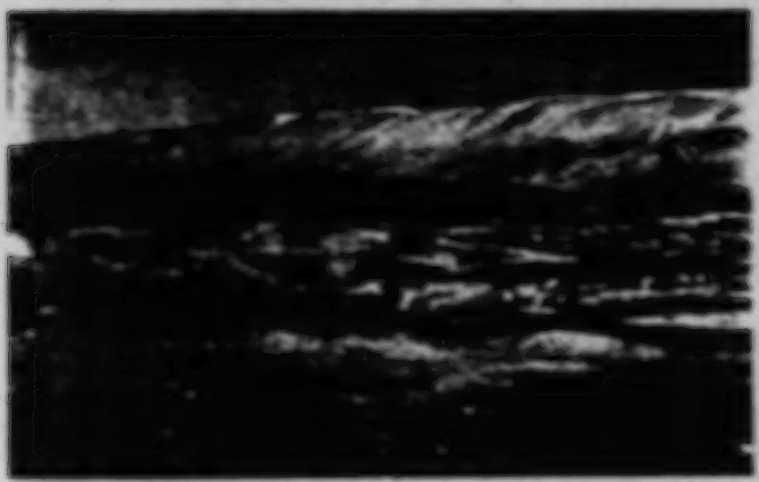

A [illegible] village.

[Opposite p. [illegible] ... [illegible]]

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter V.

The village scene

THE VILLAGE

The village, in its physical aspects, is fairly uniform over most of the South Kurdish area. The houses are built of mud, or rock in a mud mortar; the roofs are flat, held up by horizontal rafters — the most valuable item in the construction. Due to the nature of the architecture and the small size of available timber, the rooms of the houses tend to be quite small; pillars and posts are never used to support a longer span of roof. A second story on the building is rarely found. Frequently, there is no door with which to close the entrance, and never any glass in the windows. The windows are small and high up on the wall, the small room is always rather dark. There is no smoke-hole, the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor finds its way out through the entrance or the windows. The rooms are utterly devoid of furniture — the only comforts of the room to which a visitor is shown is a tea samovar and some small glasses placed on an in-set shelf, and a roll of small rugs, mostly of felt, which are spread out on the floor to be sat on.

The number of rooms to a house varies, but is never very great, and would of course give accomodation to donkeys, cattle, and perhaps a horse, as well as to the people. To each house belongs a small courtyard, enclosed by a low wall. In winter, the house gives only

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partial protection from the icy gales that sweep down from the Zagros mountains. In the warm weather, the family moves out on the flat rooftop after sundown, primarily to benefit from the cool breeze off the mountains.

Wherever a hill is available — which means nearly everywhere in Kurdish territory — the village is placed on a steep slope. That way, the flat rooftop of one house forms a kind of front terrace for the house above it in the hill, and the families tend to use the roof of the house below them for their own purposes, and so on down the line. As indicated by this, the village forms a very compact unit — maybe originally for defence purposes; certainly in part to save trouble by making double use of all walls and partitions in house construction. Frequently, the village is placed in the slope below a cool spring; only in the low country does it depend on wells for water. A common feature is a small pool, fed directly from the spring and protected from pollution by a low stone wall. Around the pool stand tall, shady trees, from which no branch must be broken, and in it one frequently finds large fish, fed by the villagers, which similarly must not be molested. The pool serves as a place for ritual washing and a favorite place of prayer.

Although considerable respect is shown for the sanctity of the home, many household activities must necessarily become public, especially in the half-year when they center around the rooftops. A certain everyday pattern of community life thus emerges in the cool of the evening. It requires much cooperation and bustle to direct the returning animals to their respective homes in the evening, with shouting and chasing of stray goats over rooftops and along partitions, away from the grainbins and waterskins and infants. Later, each family gathers around the evening meal, and then there is visiting back and forth, news being swapped, a glow in the dark from the fires where the tea is brewing, and a steady murmur of conversation. All through the night, the clamor and activity continues, with braying donkeys, crying babies, dogs chasing cats, cows shifting and groaning.

Though the patterns of each village differ, and any one of them may appear to be only utter confusion, there are, of course, regulari-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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Among semi-nomadic groups such as the Shevdini who spend their summer in black tents the 'Guest House' is a portion of the Aghas tent specially partitioned off for the purpose. This corresponds to Arab bedouin usage. The Agha himself spends much of his day in and about the Guest House and directly supervises the ordering of the meals which is suitably adjusts according to the dignity of his visitor. The actual preparation of the meals is in the hands of the womenfolk, but properly speaking these should never themselves appear in the Guest House. If the visitor has any social eminence the Agha will either sleep in the Guest House himself as a kind of protection, or else depute one of his sons to do so.

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But what concerns us here is not so much the description of the Guest House as such, but rather its economic and social significance.

The hospitality offered is free and theoretically unlimited, but in practice any individual of low rank who overstayed his welcome would soon be made conscious of the fact. For those of higher status custom dictates that the visitor should offer his host a substantial gift immediately after the preliminary introductions. I have no information as to the scale of such presents in normal Kurdish usage. In my own case since I was anxious to establish my good name with all concerned, both gifts and hospitality received were probably on an exaggerated scale. I had to rely upon the advice of my interpreter for the quality and quantity of the goods I offered. In kind they included sugar, tea, coffee, cloth, matches, soap and cigarette paper, much the most important item being sugar. The quantities varied according to the length of my intended stay and the eminence of my host. Thus Sheikh Mohammad of Balash received proportionately more than his nominal vassal Hamid Amin of Rowanduz. On average my board and lodging together with that of my interpreter cost me a sack of sugar (56 Kilos) a week.

The Expenditure of the Agha

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The procedure raises the interesting question as to whether or not it is profitable to run a Guest House. From the Kurdish viewpoint the Guest House represents an enormous drain upon the Agha's resources, but this attitude is to be expected since the more the Agha can persuade his neighbours that he is being made bankrupt by the lavishness of his hospitality the greater will be his reputation. Sheikh Mohammad Agha of Balash for instance was particularly insistent that his Guest House was bringing him to the edge of ruin, and I questioned him closely on the matter. I noted that while he included under Guest House expenditure a variety of items that were purely personal; in reckoning income he took no account at all of gifts received. To take an example he complained that for the upkeep of his Guest House he was having to feed thirty people and kill at least a kid a day. On trying to discover how he had arrived at this figure

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land Scarcity, House Construction and Kinship

311 The indications are that land resources are for the most part as
433 fully utilised as present technical equipment permits; the amount of marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement is small. Except on the moorland country above Khalan where conditions are too severe, wheat is cultivated wherever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shelter permits subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried far up onto the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the food supplies grown are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

361 Land scarcity anyway seems the most plausible explanation for the
342 very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley.
621 Sometimes as at Walash and at Bayat the houses are clustered together in
592 an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the cohesion of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village. As can be seen from photograph No. 3 the houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is no exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconveniences of such close proximity it could hardly be otherwise. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which complicates any effort on the part of the Agha to reorganise the system of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

361 One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole
342 agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the limitations of water supply radically affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. What follows applies only to the villages of the

[Opposite p 94 B -- Drawings]

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Rowanduz area, and approximately also to area B of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area C. 361 342 ●

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarised as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main door faces downhill and leads out onto the roof of the house immediately below but this practice varies. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual; in such cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, there are very rarely any shutters. The fire is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin branches about the thickness of pea-sticks. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a slurry made from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly rigid floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight baulks of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common scrub. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the deficiency of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Sheikhs where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be created from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of sundbrick instead of stone and plaster noted above. 342 352 415 342 331 462 342

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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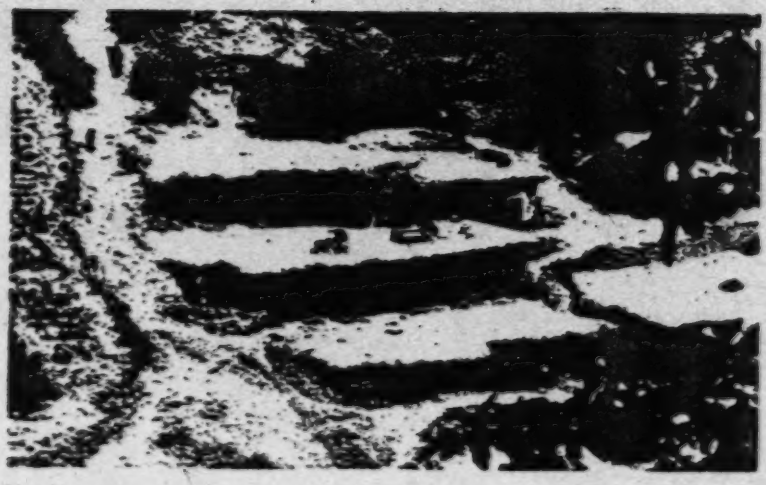


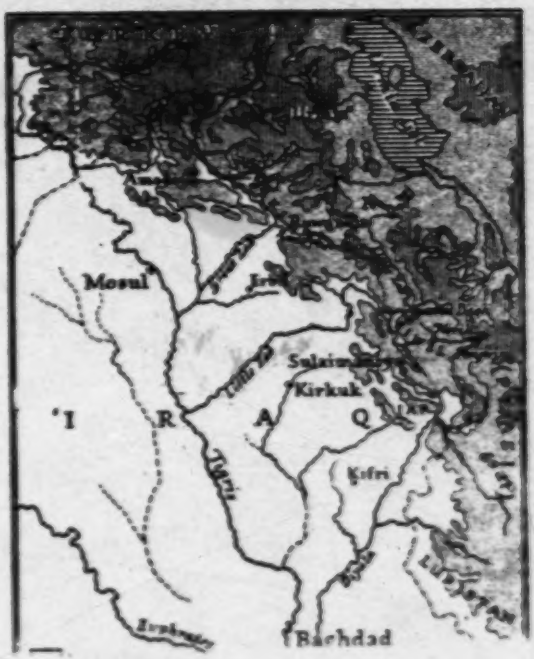
Plate 3.
Dwellings. Typical house construction, Dergala.

Plate 4.
Dwellings. Ali Agha's "Black Tent," at Rayat. The open section at the near end is the "Guest House."

[Opposite page 74 - E]

342 I STIRRED drowsily in bed as the chill of the early dawn penetrated my covering of blankets, then rubbed my eyes and slowly became conscious of the world around me. I was lying on the flat mud roof of a house; on all sides other similar roofs appeared. Each had a screen of bamboo matting facing the wind from the nearby hills, and behind it were piles of multi-coloured blankets.

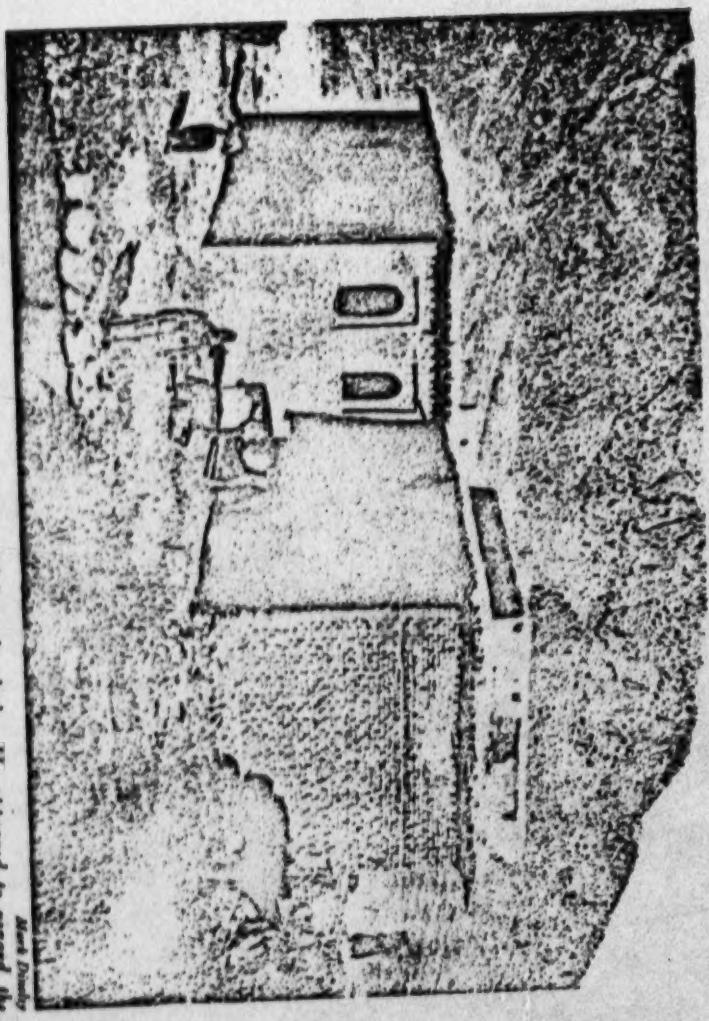
000 The faint light in the eastern sky grew brighter, and the black shadows of the [231] hills turned green as the crowing of cocks and the barking of dogs heralded the approaching dawn. Gradually the piles



[p.382 (B)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 3421
181

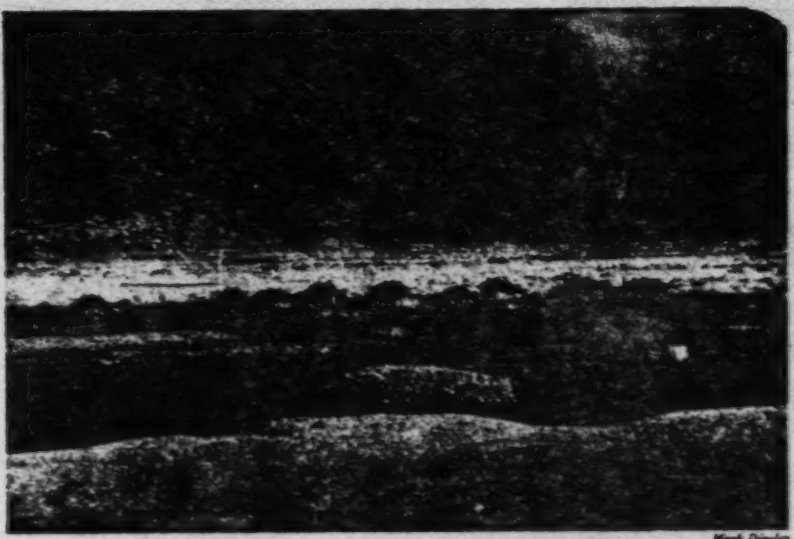


The house of an agha, rebuilt after his village had been bombed. He appeared to regard the incident with amusement and incorporated fragments of shell in the decoration of his new home

Mark Dunby

[p.390(A)]

361



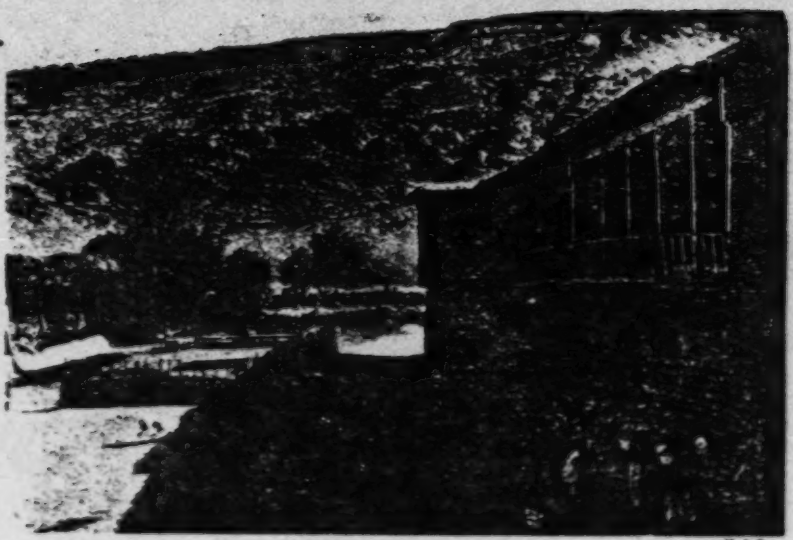
Encampment of nomad Kurds, who, owing partly to new frontier regulations which bar the way to their old summer grazing grounds in Iran, are being gradually forced to abandon their wandering life

[342]

Nomads live in tents of black woven goat-hair with bamboo walls—surrounded by domestic animals

11:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

• 342



H. J. Coons

Farmhouse recently built by a rich 'settled' Kurd, who, contrary to the law which forbids fortifications, added a bastion. In the distance goats and sheep are being herded for dipping

[53 A]

4a Wilson G-3 (no date) 1937 MH Iraq MH
Kurd MA II

000 of Assyrians under the Assyrian bishop, Mar Sergis, a jovial Friar Tuck of the Nestorian Church.

K 137 Kurdistan is a beautiful country. It is in the main well wooded, with scrub or stunted oak on the hillsides and poplars, walnuts and mulberries near the villages. Pines grow in two areas only and chinārs (planes) along the streams. Unfortunately, deforestation is proceeding apace, and unless immediate and drastic steps are taken by the 'Iraq Government, heavy soil erosion and a tremendous decrease in grazing facilities will take place. Few new walnut trees are to be found owing to a prevalent superstition that the planter of a walnut tree will die with the appearance of the first nuts. It might be supposed that the oldest inhabitants could be employed in planting, but apparently the grandfathers look askance at this suggestion!

K 181 The Kurds are a virile and cheerful people. They have been called treacherous, and undoubtedly stories can be quoted in support of this accusation. Yet it must be remembered that the annals of our own Scottish highlands are by no means clean in this respect.

K 164 221 342 In the summer the valleys of Kurdistan are, unfortunately, very malarial, and this is fostered by the cultivation of rice with its invariable accompaniment of mosquitoes. During this season most of the flock-owners move to their "zōzāns" or summer sheilings on the mountain tops, where, in shelters of oak branches, they pass the time pleasantly enough.

Christians

I 795 The Christians of the northern provinces are divided into numerous sects, several of which are relics of the old schismatic divisions of the Eastern Communion. They include Chaldeans and Syrian Catholics, who are under the control of Rome, Jacobites, Armenians, Nestorians and Seventh Day Adventists.

I 795 167 563 648 182 Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics and Jacobites are found in Mosul and many villages on the left bank of the Tigris. Chaldeans are also found in the Supna valley near Amadia and in one large village near Arbil. Seventh Day Adventists only flourish in Mosul. Many people in England know something of the Assyrians and their recent history. The Assyrians themselves claim to be descendants of the famous kingdom of Nineveh and are certainly semitic. The term "Assyrian" now includes ex-Ottoman members of the Nestorian Church who were domiciled either within what is now the 'Iraq state or who were ejected from Hakkari by the Turks during the Great War and refused